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AUTHOR Bethune, Beverly M.
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ABSTRACT

The preliminary development of social documentary photography can be traced in the early issues of "Charities," a journal established in 1897 by the New York Charity Organization Society. During the journal's earliest years, 1897 to 1902, photography was already associated with social work in the minds of the public; but "Charities" used photographs infrequently, photographic layout was haphazard, and photographers were not given creditlines. In the period of 1902-1907, there was an increased use of photographs--occasionally on the front page--but creditlines for photographs were still rare. Improvements in the photojournalism presented by "Charities" during this period included longer cutlines to explain the portrayed conditions in the photographs, more experimentation with layout, and the appearance in the journal of its first photo-essay. From 1907 to 1909, "Charities" was given new purpose and direction with its reports of a study of social conditions in Pittsburgh. The photographs that accompanied these reports were persuasive and investigative in their style and presentation. Throughout the 12 years under examination, the primary purposes of the photographs in "Charities" were to illustrate the words of the text, not to stand alone, and to emphasize the environment of the individuals photographed, not the individuals themselves. The study of these photographs also indicates that "Charities" and its readers had faith in the reality of the photographs, trusted photographers not to tamper with their subjects, and expected honesty in social documentary photography. (RL)

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EARLY SOCIAL DOCUMENTARY PHOTOGRAPHY:
THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF CHARITIES, 1897-1909

by

Beverly M. Bethune

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As yet, no records have been found which prove that the nation's two great pioneers in social documentary photography, Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine, although contemporaries, ever met or even were familiar with each other's work.

It is virtually certain, however, that they did meet, for they moved in the same Progressive social reform circles in New York City in the early years of this century, Riis as a newspaper reporter and Hine, at that time, as a student, teacher and budding photographer. Not only a journalist, Riis was also a noted lecturer and author, and both his lectures and his books were illustrated with his photographs. As Hine, the younger man, entered the burgeoning social welfare movement, it seems quite likely he would have heard Riis speak and read some of the journalist's books and articles.

But the most probable meeting ground for the two documentarians was Charities, established in 1897 as the official journal of the New York Charity Organization Society (COS). One of the early such journals, this weekly publication carried numerous articles by and about Riis. As shall be seen, at least one of his photographs appears on a page of Charities, and it is logical to assume that others do also. After 1904 the masthead carried his name as a member of the COS National

Publications Committee, which served as an advisory board to Charities. Some of Hine's earliest photographs were published in Charities; later he would become its staff photographer.

In bringing together the work and influence of these two social documentary photographers, Charities pioneered not only in social welfare journalism, but also in social welfare photojournalism. The early development of social documentary photography--from the banal group portrait of charity recipients and the meaningless photograph of an institutional building to Hine's powerful, action-compelling photographs of children working in cotton mills--can be traced in the pages of Charities.

Although social documentary research has examined the work of such photographers as David Octavius Hill, John Thomson, Riis, Hine and others,¹ it has seldom focused on the media's use of that work. In an effort to provide a better understanding of activist photojournalism and the part Charities played in its development, this study will examine the photographs of Charities, both as to their content and as to the way in which they were used on the printed page. It is not within the scope of the study to attempt to identify the photographers of each of the photographs, but where the photographer is known or can be inferred, it shall be noted.

Under several names, the magazine had a long life, dying as The Survey in 1952; our examination will be confined to the beginning, formative years, 1897-1909, in which the journal carried the name Charities and then Charities and The Commons² and in which the photograph became an established form of persuasive communication in its pages. This time period divides logically into three parts: 1897-

1902, the earliest years, under the editorship of Edward T. Devine; 1902-1907, the beginning of change as Paul U. Kellogg joined the staff and became managing editor; and 1907-1909, the re-shaping of the magazine by the Pittsburgh Survey.

As in all photojournalism, the photographs of Charities are wedded to the printed words surrounding them. It is necessary and useful, then, to begin with a discussion of the magazine itself and the era in which it existed. The same three time periods will be employed in delineating the magazine's history.

Charities and the Progressive Era

When Jacob Riis began his career as a newspaper reporter in 1870, the nation was heading into a period of deep crisis brought about by accelerated urban and industrial growth. The closing of the frontier which was to have kept America in an eternal state of nature and the trend away from agriculture to complex industrialism were causing severe dislocations in American thinking. As historian Robert H. Wiebe said, "The setting had altered beyond their power to understand it, and within an alien context they had lost themselves."³

Pouring into the cities on the one hand were thousands of young men and women from the nation's farm areas and, on the other hand, literally millions of immigrants, most of them from southern and eastern Europe, all seeking new opportunities. Instead, they found too many people, too few jobs, squalid housing, low pay, long hours, uncertain employment, injury and death on the job, and disease and poverty everywhere. The Progressive movement grew out of what Wiebe called "the search for order" in the chaos of suffering and want created by modern

life.⁴

Organizing to meet the challenge, to head the search, was a new breed: specialists or professionals--doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, social scientists and, eventually, social workers. Characteristic of these professionals was a penchant for convening and organizing. In the early 1880s, Josephine Shaw Lowell, a member of the New York State Board of Charities, persuaded that board to appoint "a special committee to inaugurate a system of mutual help and cooperation" among the many independent charitable societies operating in New York City.⁵ This committee became the New York Charity Organization Society, or COS, a volunteer group.

Like philanthropic organizations in Boston and Chicago, the COS felt a need to provide a newsletter of welfare activities for the agencies with which it worked. Thus in 1891 was established the Charities Review, a scholarly, dignified journal which would soon merge with its Boston counterpart, Lend a Hand. Still needed, however, was a more practical publication of advice and information. When a young economics professor, Edward T. Devine, was hired in 1896 as secretary of the COS, it became one of his duties to create and edit such a journal. A year later, in December, 1897, the first issue of Charities appeared.⁶

The earliest years--1897-1902

Charities quickly took on the appearance it would retain for most of the next 12 years. A monthly for the first year, thereafter it was issued weekly. Its pages were 6 3/4 inches wide by 9 1/2 inches deep, and varied in number from 20 to more than 100 per issue. They were

numbered consecutively throughout each volume. Printed by letterpress, each page carried two columns of type not separated by rule. The type was set by line-casting machine, probably Intertype.⁷ Its subscription price was \$1 a year, later \$2 when Charities Review became a monthly issue of Charities in 1901.

In the main, Charities was indeed a newsletter. There were articles on the activities of various agencies in the city and other parts of the country, on meetings and speeches, on classes and on experiences of case workers. There were book reviews, calendars and editorials.

At this time one must look hard for indications that Charities would ever be an innovator in social welfare journalism. For the most part, both its name and its content reflected the prevailing attitudes toward philanthropy during these first years of publication. As Paul Kellogg's biographer, Clarke Chambers, said:

[Charities'] first issues rolled out the old rationale for charity organization which had been around for a half century; indiscriminate alms-giving was a drain on limited community resources and a source of moral disintegration for the recipients; to provide support for destitute families required a careful, scientific investigation of all the circumstances which had led to the awful condition of dependency. . . .⁸

Emphasis then was on the individual and his or her immediate situation, not the social conditions that helped to create the situation.

The first hint of the journal's future course in social welfare journalism came in its involvement with tenement-house reform. The COS Tenement-House Committee was formed in 1898 with Jacob Riis as one of its members. The initial failure of the committee to obtain municipal legislative action on tenement conditions merely stiffened their resolve, and they launched a massive public education campaign. Press releases, photographs, public meetings, sermons, legislative committees

and editorials were all tools of the reformers. In February, 1900, a Tenement-House Exhibition opened in New York City with then Governor Theodore Roosevelt as the principal speaker at opening day festivities.

Within three years from the first committee appointments, the state legislature passed a Tenement-House Law satisfactory to the CCS. Devine said, "This first venture of organized charity in what by distinction we may call organized social work was an unqualified success. It became a sort of model on which future tasks of an analogous kind might be shaped."⁹

Although Charities reported all the events of the tenement-house program and published a few related photographs, the journal was not at this time an intrinsic part of the public education program. Its significance as an educative tool would be recognized in later campaigns. At least one reason for its minor role may have been its small circulation. In this time period, even after absorbing Charities Review, the magazine never reached a circulation of more than 2,500 subscribers, most of them already actively engaged in philanthropy. The reformers needed far greater public support than these few readers.

While the merger with Charities Review made no great change in circulation, it did broaden the scope of the magazine. Articles in the monthly issue were longer, more thoughtful and more analytical than those in the weekly issues, and their thrust was often toward preventive social action, rather than immediate supportive action.

The beginning of change--1902-1907

Changes in welfare trends and changes in Charities were already underway when Paul U. Kellogg arrived in New York in 1901. He was a

young Midwestern newspaper reporter who came East to study at Columbia University. In a six-week summer course in philanthropy sponsored by the COS the following year, he caught the attention of Edward Devine, who offered him a position as assistant editor of Charities. Kellogg's association with the magazine would continue for 50 years.

Later joined by his brother Arthur, Kellogg brought youthful energy and innovation to Charities. The appearance of the journal changed: more photographs and illustrations were used, a more readable type was introduced and layouts were more varied and often more attractive. New departments were added, and new kinds of features appeared. Increasingly, preventive social action was stressed.

Occasionally almost entire issues were devoted to articles on a single topic. The immigration question was explored in depth in February, 1904, for example, and issues later that year looked specifically at Italian and Slavic immigrants. In October, 1905, the journal examined "The Negro in the Cities of the North," which we shall discuss later. Articles for these special issues were written by leaders of the ethnic groups involved as well as leaders of the reform groups involved.

In fall, 1905, Charities merged with still another publication, The Commons, national organ of the settlement movement, and acquired its name, becoming Charities and The Commons. Also acquired were The Commons' stable of prominent writers and their settlement point of view, democratic espousal of economic justice and industrial reform.

The Commons also brought along 1,400 subscribers, and when the combined journals absorbed Jewish Charity, the newsletter of United Hebrew Charities of New York, it finally had a circulation of 6,000,¹⁰

a readership of some significance. The journal could be used from time to time as a reformer's tool in itself, not just as a news medium reporting the use of other tools. This was particularly true of the special issues, designed to educate and bring about social change.

One group of special issues, "The Pittsburgh Survey," would change the name and face of the magazine.

The reshaping by the Pittsburgh Survey--1907-1909

Although the 1907-1909 period marks the end of this study's examination of Charities, it was, in fact, a transitional period for the journal. In 1907 a group of concerned citizens in Pittsburgh asked the COS to do a complete analysis of social conditions in that city.¹¹ The COS National Publications Committee, of which Jacob Riis was a member, appointed Paul Kellogg to direct the study. Leaving Arthur Kellogg to edit Charities, Paul Kellogg and his small staff expected to be finished with their survey of Pittsburgh in three months; instead, they took more than 18 months. One of Kellogg's staff was Lewis Hine, whose photographs had begun to appear occasionally in Charities earlier that year.

Preliminary articles from the Survey began to run in Charities in early 1908; special numbers were turned over to the studies in the first three months of 1909.

The Pittsburgh Survey was a vast undertaking, far beyond what anyone at Charities or at any other such publication had previously attempted. Its impact on several reform movements was apparent, as well as its impact on social research. But its most evident impact was on the magazine itself. As Chambers said:

After Pittsburgh, the old Charities and the /sic/ Commons had to be recast--in name, in concept, in style, in quality--not from scratch to be sure, for many precedents in welfare journalism were firmly grounded by 1909. . . . But 1909 marked the beginning of a new departure.¹²

In April, 1909, Charities and The Commons became The Survey, discarding a name which had long irritated readers¹³ and which no longer represented the philosophical stance of the magazine. Although the editor promised that "Only the name is changed,"¹⁴ there were many changes to come.

The Photographs of Charities

In November, 1901, the following letter, addressed to a COS member, appeared in Charities:

Dear Sir--I am to give a talk on East Side Conditions with special reference to settlements and the housing problem. I am entirely ignorant of both subjects, except that I have somewhere heard that airshafts are "damp, dark, and unventilated."

The talk is to be given on Wednesday next. Will you kindly send me at your expense any literature or photographs /italics Bethune's/ which you may have bearing upon this subject. If you could send two or three of the models, they would be much appreciated. I hope I am not asking too much, but I know your great interest in the subject will make you more than willing to assist in the spread of this very useful knowledge.

Thanking you in advance for the courtesy.

Most cordially yours,

(Signed) (Mrs.) H. B. M. Smith

P.S.--Could you not write out for me some account that I could read at that time? It would be so nice if you would, especially if you could furnish me with some interesting anecdotes.¹⁵

The letter was published as a "striking illustration of . . . the extent to which demands are made upon charity workers for cooperation."¹⁶ However, it also serves as an illustration of the fact that, although the Progressive reform movement was still rather young at that time, photographs had already become inherently associated with other reform tools for public education--in the minds of lay people, including that onerous woman, as well as professional welfare workers. Much credit is

probably due Jacob Riis and his friends, who frequently illustrated their public lectures with stereopticon slides made from their photographs.

Nonetheless, at the outset, photographs were not an inherent part of Charities. In fact, the first photograph did not appear in the magazine until 18 months after the first issue was published.

The earliest years--1897-1902

Charities' use of photography began in the June 10, 1899, issue, and the first photograph¹⁷ deserved its lack of fanfare. A smudgy group shot of some 50 people, mostly women and children, lined up in three rows on the lawn outside a two-story house and staring grimly at the camera was hardly an auspicious beginning. There was no announcement of the fact that it was the first photograph; indeed, there was no word about the photograph at all: no cutline, no creditline for the photographer and no mention within the text of the accompanying article. Outlined with a heavy black rule, the cut was 3 1/2 inches wide by 2 1/2 inches deep, so small one needs a magnifying glass to see the individual figures clearly.

The image illustrated an article entitled "Edgewater Creche,"¹⁸ and announced the opening of the Creche for day visits of poor mothers with infants and small children, providing them with escape from the summer heat in the tenements. The COS and other charitable societies provided the mothers with free ferry tickets to the nursery, located on the west side of the Hudson River opposite Grant's Tomb.

However poor the photograph, it points out two of Charities' attitudes toward photography which would prevail during this time period and would be found to some extent throughout the life of the magazine

as Charities:

First, a photograph was plainly intended to illustrate the words of the text, not to make its own statement or to be admired for its esthetic qualities. Although cutlines would soon be added, they were mere titles; the text was to elucidate, the photograph was to amplify. Who made the photograph was so unimportant that the photographer was almost never identified. Not until Lewis Hine came to the staff were photographs allowed occasionally to dominate and set the pace of the articles. And not until 1923 were photographers routinely identified with a creditline in the journal.

Second, the surroundings of the individuals photographed were more significant within the photograph than the individuals themselves. The purpose of social welfare was to improve the environment of society; therefore, the magazine must present that environment both before and after improvement. Much of the photographic emphasis in the early years was on the results of improvement. Charities' incessant use of photographs of the facades of large buildings (in which charitable work was taking place)¹⁹ is an extreme example of this attitude toward environment, but it can also be found in photographs of people at work in which most of them have their backs to the camera or are so far from the camera that they are unrecognizable; or in photographs run so small that nothing can be discerned but a vague impression of surroundings.

Other early photographs. Photographs did not immediately proliferate in the pages of Charities, and they were never run consistently during this time period. The next ones after the Creche photograph appeared in the August 12, 1899, issue, illustrating J. K. Paulding's article, "Outdoor Recreation League." A thrust of the reform movement

was the establishment of children's recreation facilities, and this article described activity at the three city playgrounds operated by the Outdoor Recreation League. One of the playgrounds was Seward Park, which is seen in the two accompanying photographs. More interesting than the Creche photograph because they were unposed, each is centered on the page with text above and below. The photographer was not credited, but Jacob Riis took photographs at Seward Park, and these may have been his. Outlines have been added: "Children's Playground, Seward Park"²⁰ and "Finish of Race at Seward Park Gymnasium."²¹

"Children's Playground," taken just outside a picket fence surrounding the park, is a long shot across a playground teeming with children, most of whom seem to be just standing around. No play equipment is in evidence, although some swings may be in the background. A large striped tent is off to one side. Dominating the foreground is a policeman in bobby hat leaning on the fence with his back to the park, looking off into the distance at the right of the frame. Behind him a child waves to the photographer.

"Finish of Race" shows a crowd of young men and older boys, all dressed in suits and derby hats or bowlers, lined up behind ropes watching a footrace. Standing behind the spectators on one side, the photographer stood on a tall object to angle his camera over their heads and downward to catch the racer as a blur. The outdoor gym was apparently depicted in odd structures in the background. Some faces are discernible here.

Two years later this article would be updated by another, "Playground Progress in Seward Park," by Charles B. Stover, president of the Outdoor Recreation League. Four photographs of the playground, similar to those published earlier, accompanied the article.²²

The two photographs which were published in September, 1900, with Samuel Macaulay Jackson's article, "The Industrial Building," are particularly illustrative of the two attitudes of Charities toward photographs discussed above.²³ The article was the history of a building recently made into a COS laundry. The COS had begun its activity in that area with a woodyard, where male charity applicants' sincerity of desire for work was actually put to a test. Later the building next to the woodyard had been purchased and turned into a Wayfarer's Lodge to feed and house the woodyard workers. Still later the city built its own Wayfarer's Lodge, and the COS turned the building into a laundry, which presumably would test women charity applicants' sincerity of desire for work.

Captioned, "Industrial Building, 516 West Twenty-Eighth Street," and sub-captioned, "Woodyard at the Right," the first photograph was of a five story building at the left of the frame and a woodyard glimpsed through an open driveway on the right. Two small children and a dog are barely visible on the sidewalk beside the steps to the front door. The photographer took the scene from across a broad street, and considerable roadway appears in the foreground. It is obvious that a horse recently passed down the road. The photograph ran full page.²⁴

The other photograph, "The Woodyard: 516 West Twenty-Eighth Street," shows several men working in the woodyard, one in profile and the rest from the rear. One of the rear views is of a man bending over. This photograph also ran full page, but sideways, so that the bottom of the frame faced the outer edge of the page. The cutline followed the bottom of the frame, thus also sideways.²⁵

Photographic layout. Placement of a photograph on the page followed no set rules. While the bottom of the frame of the full page photograph

discussed above faced the outer edge of the page, from time to time the layout would be reversed and the photograph would face the fold of the magazine.²⁶ Cutlines were usually run in normal fashion--that is, beneath the bottom of the frame no matter how the photograph might be turned on the page--but occasionally the picture would be run sideways and the cutline would remain horizontal, following the type of the text. When the photograph was only one column, instead of a full page, and was run sideways with a horizontal cutline, the layout appears even more awkward.²⁷

Photographers' credits. In the same issue as "Industrial Building," discussed above, was an article, "The Charity Organization Society Laundry," by W. Franklin Bush, which described the laundry housed in the Industrial Building. Accompanying the article were two half-page photographs, both taken in the laundry workrooms and neither showing much of the women working there. Inside the lower left corner of each photograph are the words, "Byron N.Y." and a number. They may have been scratched on the negatives or painted in white ink directly onto the original prints. No explanation is given in the text. There is a town named Byron in New York state, but more likely this is the creditline of a photographer named Byron from New York.²⁸

A year later Edward Devine wrote "Housing Conditions in the Principal Cities of New York," a survey of problems in New York City, Buffalo, Rochester, Albany, Troy and Syracuse. The article was accompanied by ten photographs, most of them simply photographs of ramshackle tenement buildings scarcely larger than postage stamp size. Two, however, are of particular interest because they definitely carry the creditline of the photographer, the first in the magazine definitely to do so. As in the laundry photographs, the credit was scratched on the negative or

painted on the original print, appearing as white writing on the cut. The writing is legible in only one of the photographs, "Troy--A Dilapidated Tenement," which shows a portly man, elbows akimbo, sitting on the steps of a wooden, two-story shack and glaring at the camera. The creditline read "Photo b V Max Hume"; however, it must be read with a mirror, for the photograph was either flopped or Hume scratched his name on the wrong side of the negative.²⁹ In the other photograph most of the credit has been cropped off, but the words appear to be the same.³⁰

The tenement-house campaign. In February, 1900, the Tenement-House Exhibition opened in New York City. The opening was announced in the February 10th issue of Charities³¹ and discussed fully in the next week's issue.³² Stating, "There are 1,100 photographs, illustrating every phase of the housing problem that is of present significance to citizens of New York. . . .",³³ the second article described many of the photographs but failed to name a single photographer. Two photographs of tenement airshafts and one of a city block model appear on a page inserted between pages 2 and 3 of the magazine. They were probably photographs that were used in the exhibition.

The ongoing tenement-house campaign provided photographs of a different emphasis for Charities. Rather than showing what had been done for the needy, the photographs accompanying housing articles frequently demonstrated what needed to be done. For example, with excerpts from the report of the New York Tenement-House Commission of 1900 was a photograph with outline, "Why Sanitary Inspection Is Necessary." Pictured was a cellar with steps and floor covered with trash and filth.³⁴

Mention within the text. The articles of Charities almost never discussed their accompanying photographs directly. The first exception

was in "Summer Philanthropy," a survey of fresh air agencies³⁵ in New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Indianapolis, Boston and Cincinnati.³⁶ Four photographs were included, and the writer said, "The cuts on pages 280 and 282 [photographs of a pavilion and a small hospital building respectively] exhibit types of the institutional summer home for children. . . . The illustration on page 286 shows the high water mark of fresh-air charity."³⁷ There seems to be no pun intended, although the title of the photograph on page 286 was "Salt Water Baths, St. John's Guild Floating Hospital." Pictured were a number of women bending over tubs bathing their children; others sat with naked children wrapped in towels, waiting their turn. They were aboard a yacht which had been turned into a hospital and day center by a charitable organization.

Among the photographs we've discussed (and they were all the photographs published in these years), why the magazine chose to comment on salt water baths and two photographs of buildings is not clear. Certainly there was a greater awareness of photography toward the end of this time period. But then from December 7, 1901, to November 1, 1902, not a single photograph appeared in the magazine.

The beginning of change--1902-1907

Paul Kellogg's name was first listed on Charities' masthead in the September 27, 1902, issue. While there is no real evidence that he or his brother was responsible for changes in the magazine, nevertheless a number of gradual differences in content and appearance are apparent over the next few years.

Frequency of photographic use. There was an ever increasing use of photographs in this time period, both in the number per issue and in the number per article. For example, in the November 15, 1902, issue

there were only six photographs, all related to the theme of the issue, mendicancy. By July 7, 1906, there were 34 photographs in the issue, most related to the municipal park theme, but some on topics of other articles as well. Ten photographs accompanied one article, "First Fruits of a Municipal Experiment," which appeared in the May 2, 1903, issue.

The greatest number of photographs seems to have been saved for the Charities Review issues, the expanded version of the magazine published on the first Saturday of the month. The April 7, 1906, issue, for instance, was devoted primarily to public health and, by Charities' standards at that time, was lavishly illustrated with 28 photographs.

Covers. Occasionally a photograph appeared on the first page of the journal as a sort of cover illustration, although, in the issues examined by this author, it was usually rather small.³⁸ The first such cover photograph was carried in the 1902 mendicancy issue mentioned above and was a one column cut of a former beggar working at a wood-chopping job the COS had obtained for him.³⁹ On January 10, 1903, another of the omnipresent building photographs was on the first page, labeled, "Amusement Hall, Metropolitan Hospital."⁴⁰ And on the April 11, 1903, first page was a photograph of two young boys sleeping on a grubby basement floor. It was entitled, "Buffalo Newsboys of Twelve and Thirteen Years."⁴¹

These first page photographs were not run regularly, and the device was soon abandoned. Except for the last mentioned of the three above, the photographs had no visual impact. They simply may have been part of Kellogg's experimentation with the magazine's format.

Content. In spite of Charities' improvement, its photographs were

still at times inane in content or poor in technical quality. For example, an article entitled, "Camping in an Abandoned Farmhouse," by William Byron Forbush, in the April 4, 1903, issue, is accompanied by three photographs of a wealthy family, one on the way to the farmhouse in horse-drawn cart and the other two picnicking on the lawn of the farm.⁴² Both the article and the photographs seem irrelevant to the purpose of Charities. In the January 23, 1904, number, "The Sunday Closing Law of New York" discussed saloons open illegally on Sunday.⁴³ Six photographs taken outside the saloons depict Sunday customers leaving the premises with illegal pails of beer. An artist so heavily and ineptly touched up the poor photographs that they seem almost to be bad drawings, instead.

However, throughout this time period emphasis increasingly was on investigative and preventive social work, and the content of the photographs increasingly reflected that emphasis. The passage of child labor laws was a growing interest at this time, as illustrated by articles on newsboys which appeared in March and April, 1903.

The first, "Child Laborers of the Street--The New York Bills," carried with it a photograph showing two small boys, probably newsboys, curled up together and asleep next to a flight of steps. The outline reads: "Taken by Ernest Poole, at 2 a.m., November 25, 1902, on a street near Newspaper Row."⁴⁴

The second article, "What of the Newsboy of the Second City?" said Buffalo claimed conditions in New York City were different from those in Buffalo and therefore Buffalo should be exempt from child labor laws being urged for the state. The author took the opposite view.⁴⁵ Investigative photographs from Buffalo included "Buffalo Newsboys of

Twelve and Thirteen Years," discussed above as a cover photograph,⁴⁶ and, with the article, a group shot of five young boys looking into the camera, with a cutline reading, "Lafayette Square, Buffalo, March 20, 1903. Ages, six and seven years."⁴⁷

Later that year Charities published another child labor article, "A Boy-Destroying Trade," by Florence Kelley, executive secretary of the National Consumers League and social activist. She discussed the employment of very young boys in the glass bottle industry, and a large, clear photograph, with cutline, "In a Glass Bottle Factory in Alton, Ill.," showed one of those boys at work.⁴⁸

The ten photographs mentioned above as accompanying a 1903 article, "First Fruits of a Municipal Experiment,"⁴⁹ were all investigative photographs, and all depicted squalid tenement living conditions. One photograph, of an Elizabeth Street tenement yard, appears in the Dover edition of Jacob Riis' book, How the Other Half Lives,⁵⁰ although Charities did not give him credit, he probably was the photographer. In two of the other photographs, tenement residents are sitting in darkened rooms; another photograph shows why: the landlord had nailed to the side of the building a huge advertising billboard which covered the windows and left the tenants without light or air.⁵¹

Another article, published in 1904, may also be illustrated by Riis' photographs. "The Housing Problem Facing Congress," published in February 6, 1904, is excerpts from Riis' address at the annual meeting of Associated Charities of Washington, D.C., the previous December. Riis had made a tour of the slums with some Washington officials, including Charles Weller, Associated Charities secretary, and an explanatory note said, "This trip furnished the material for his address which was illustrated by stereopticon views of the places visited."⁵² It is quite

possible, then, that Riis made the five photographs in this article and that they had been used as slides with his speech. Three of the photographs show conditions inside the slum hovels, one is taken outside a shack and one is a photograph of Weller and a black mother and children.

Two years later, in an issue devoted to social conditions in Washington, D.C., there was a major article, "Neglected Neighbors," by Charles Weller, accompanied by 23 photographs, all of slum areas in the capital.⁵³ A subhead explains that this is the first presentation of a comprehensive study by Weller, general secretary of Associated Charities and of the Committee on Improvement of Housing Conditions, both of Washington. No credit is given the photographer. Again, the photographs, or at least some of them, may be Riis'. It is possible that some may be those of Lewis Hine. Hine's biographer, Judith Mara Gutman, says that in this time period, "Hine photographed with Charles F. Weller's Washington slum study. . . ."⁵⁴ However, neither she nor Hine's other cataloguers⁵⁵ credit him with Charities photographs before 1907.

Creditlines. As evident, creditlines were still rare in this time period. The first awarded by the magazine itself was the one given to Ernest Poole in the cutline with the photograph of the sleeping New York City newsboys.⁵⁶ The surest way for photographers to get credit was to scratch their names on the negatives or paint them on the prints, as Max Hume had done in 1901.

Charities seemed more careful to give credit when the photographs had been published elsewhere, as in the case of two reprints from the Brooklyn Standard-Union that went with the article, "A Day with a Tenement-House Inspector," excerpted from that newspaper in 1902.⁵⁷ However, the creditline with the two photographs of tenement scenes was given to

the newspaper, not the photographer.

Edward P. Dichert copyrighted his photographs of black children which ran in the special issue, "The Negro in the Cities of the North," in 1905. His name and the copyright symbol were displayed prominently.⁵⁸

Cutlines. The journal's inclinations toward the use of cutlines, as we have seen, began with no use at all, but, as photographs became more important to the format, the editors added a one-line label, then a one-line label plus a one-line sub-label, and then, in some cases, a paragraph of many lines of agate type of details about the image presented.

For example, the caption with "Buffalo Newsboys of Twelve and Thirteen Years"⁵⁹ is ten lines long, two columns wide. It reads, in part:

Taken at 2 a.m. March 26, 1903, in the cellar of a Buffalo newspaper office. When an employee of the office learned that a photograph had been taken of the boys, he tried to break the camera. From ten to twenty boys of all ages sleep on the tables of this room until 3 a.m. when they go out to sell the morning editions. The young man who stood by rolling papers remarked to the investigator of the Buffalo COS that "he did not see how the little beasts lived because they slept there almost every night."⁶⁰

The outline then discusses the state of child labor legislation in New York at that time.

Layout. Typical of photographic layout in this period was that used in an article called, "Oppression to Freedom," with a sub-title, "How the Hebrew Immigrant is taught his first lessons in American Liberty at the Educational Alliance, a place of organized opportunities."⁶¹ Six photographs, ranging from mediocre to poor quality, one to a page, accompany this article. Four of them are about 2 1/2 inches wide by 1 3/4 inches deep; two are almost page-size. The first, one of the small cuts, is a photograph of "The Educational Alliance--Main Building,

197 East Broadway."⁶² The rest are all photographs of large groups of people. The three other small photographs--"Library," "Young Women's Social Room," and "Reading-Room"⁶³--require the use of a magnifying glass to pick out faces in the crowd. Only "Cooking Class" and "Gymnasium,"⁶⁴ run full page, allow us to see both the individual and her or his environment.

As more photographs were incorporated into the magazine, the editors experimented with their layout. Photographs would sometimes be laid out one on top of the other, as in "First Fruits of a Municipal Experiment," with white space between each image and a single outline of several lines at the bottom of the page.⁶⁵ That worked fairly well, but in a 1904 article, "A New Departure in Summer Outing," three photographs were laid out one above the other with no space in between and a heavy rule drawn around the perimeter of the three images. Entitled, "Some Scenes at Valley Farm," the subject matter runs together in a visual mess.⁶⁶

Decorative rules, such as those around the photographs of the 1906 article, "The South Mountain Camp Sanatorium," were sometimes used.⁶⁷ Occasionally, pages of photographs, such as those with the article, "A Western Newspaper and Its Newsboys," in 1907, would employ mortises and artwork on photo pages. In the latter layouts, photographs overlapped and were in rectangular and circular shapes with borders drawn around them. The artist had drawn smoke coming from the smokestack of a train engine in one photograph and water flowing out of a swimming pool into the white space of the layout. Fortunately, this sort of extravagant graphics did not appear too often.⁶⁸

More interesting is a foldout photograph of a panoramic scene of Ogden Park in Chicago, which was published in the August 3, 1907, issue.

Made with an extremely wide-angle lens and captioned, "The Chicago Play Festival," the photograph accompanied an article entitled "How They Played at Chicago." The unidentified photographer caught a sweeping view of 4,000 spectators gathered at the 60 acre park to watch hundreds of schoolchildren and adults taking part in games and dances on the final day of the first convention of the Playground Association of America.⁶⁹

The first photo essay. In 1903 Charities' first photographic essay appeared; it was described in an accompanying article, "A Photographer East of the Bowery."⁷⁰ The photographs were not social documentary photographs in the sense of their seeking to persuade the viewer to take social action. Conversely, they sought to capture the status quo, and the article lamented changes already taking place in the distinctive and colorful Lower East Side of Manhattan as families became more prosperous and moved from the area.

As documentary photographs of high quality, however, these pictures were important in focusing the attention of Charities' readers on the significance and nature of the photographic image. Taken by members of the Camera Club of New York, they were reprinted from the club's publication, Camera Notes. Creditlines were given for some of the photographs, though not all.

These fourteen photographs are the best that had appeared in Charities to that time. Unposed, well composed street scenes of the Lower East Side, they portray shawled women, derby-hatted men and occasionally young children standing on corners, talking to each other, buying fish and produce from sidewalk carts and hawking their wares. The final photograph of the essay is a striking image of a white-bearded patriarch in a dark suit, overcoat, gloves and derby, walking

with cane in hand on a broad sidewalk toward the camera. He is a small, frail man, yet seems, paradoxically, sturdy. Shadows from the sun shining through the horizontal boards of a tall fence on the left of the frame fall across the old man's coat. They stretch behind him on the sidewalk, suggesting the long, plain pattern of his life. His photographer is not identified.⁷¹

The article said that Sidney Allan had observed in Camera Notes that artists had neglected the ghetto and had "suggested that perhaps the photographer will be the first, from an esthetic standpoint, to conquer it."

And he said, according to the article, "'[The photographer] will only be able to give us instantaneous fragments of life, but if rendered in their most concise aspects, they may, after all, reflect a good deal of the true character of the children of the "Ghetto". . . ."⁷²

Hine's first Charities photographs. In early 1907 the first Charities photographs which Lewis Hine's cataloguers have credited to him appeared.⁷³ The magazine, however, carried no creditline. Nine photographs accompanied "The Newsboy at Night in Philadelphia" by Scott Nearing, and they presaged Hine's photographic technique for the rest of his life. Singly or in groups, young newsboys were lined up before Hine's camera and stared into it, peering at the viewer with what seems a mixture of pain and bravado. The caption with a picture of a small boy with closed eyes and another with his back to the camera was: "Me face? Not on yer life, you don't git me face!"⁷⁴

All the photographs were made with flash between 2 and 4 a.m. Although Nearing discusses the making of the photographs, he does not identify the photographer as Hine.

A month later "How Combat Crap Shooting" [sic] was published with three uncredited Hine photographs. One, "Come seven, come eleven," is cropped into an oval shape and portrays seven young boys seated in a circle on the sidewalk apparently shooting craps.⁷⁵ "Starts with pennies" also depicts very young crap shooters; "Stakes of one and two dollar bills" shows older boys gambling.⁷⁶ In both, Hine seems to have called attention to himself, for the participants are standing, and several are looking toward the camera.

It may perhaps be said that the photographic ideas, if not the actual photographs, of Jacob Riis were a strong influence in turning the early photographic format of Charities toward investigative photography. But in 1907 the entrance of Lewis Hine's work onto the pages of the magazine would begin to elevate that format into an art form, just as the publication of the Pittsburgh Survey would transform the editorial format.

The Reshaping by the Pittsburgh Survey--1907-1909

Field investigations for the Pittsburgh Survey began in late 1907. Years later, in a letter to the head of the Tennessee Valley Authority recommending that Lewis Hine photograph that project as it got underway, Paul Kellogg said:

When we launched The Pittsburgh Survey back in 1907-08, we broke with the old stereotypes of social and economic investigations. We reinforced our text with things that spoke to the eye--drawing in charts, graphs, maps and designs from the engineers; and employed not only photographs but pastels--and even sculpture. . . .⁷⁷

At the time, however, neither Kellogg nor his staff knew they were breaking with tradition. Two preliminary articles from the Survey were published in the March 7, 1908, issue of Charities, along with an article summarizing the intent of the investigation. "To get at the facts in

the whole of living and social conditions of an American industrial center" was their aim, the article said. Since Pittsburgh was "the social expression of one of the few master industries of the country," Charities felt that a diagnosis of the elements of one such community would have common elements in all.⁷⁸

Neither Jacob Riis nor Lewis Hine was named on the list entitled "Colleagues in the Field Work." However, both Chambers and Gutman say that Hine was hired as a staff photographer for Charities and for the Survey.⁷⁹ Three of his photographs appear with one of the preliminary articles in this issues, "What Bad Housing Means to Pittsburgh," by F. Elizabeth Crowell. In each the environment dominates; the human figures, although facing the camera, are too distant to be distinct.⁸⁰

Elizabeth Beardsley Butler wrote a series of four articles on trades employing women in Pittsburgh, part of her work for the Survey, for summer and early fall, 1908, issues of Charities: "The Stogy Industry in Pittsburgh," "Pittsburgh's Steam Laundry Workers," "The Cracker Industry in Pittsburgh," and "Pittsburgh Women in the Metal Trades."

Hine's cataloguers credit him with photographs for the laundry workers and metal workers articles. The two photographs for the latter were simply long shots of women working in large factories.⁸¹ Except for one photograph of the usual institution (a laundry), the photographs for the laundry article are more interesting. The author had noted a hierarchy in the laundry, with the mangle and starch room being at the bottom of the social ladder, the sorters ("more reliable" and "more skilled") next highest. Hine posed the mangle and starch women in the doorway of their laundry and put the others at the windows of the second floor, to provide a symbolic photograph. For a closeup of a checker, the caption notes she

was "the aristocrat among laundry workers."⁸²

Although Hine had no photographs with Butler's cracker industry article, he did have three photographs in that issue. They were his first photo essay for Charities and were the first photo essay of any kind that Charities ran without an accompanying article, the first photographs that made their own statement. Printed on slick paper and one to a sheet, they were titled, "As They Come to Ellis Island," the words appearing within the frame of the first photograph. "Photographs by Lewis W. Hine" is in italic type at the bottom of the page. Below the title are two smiling, round-faced women with kerchiefs around their heads, and below their figures is the caption, "The Slavs."

Next, labeled "The Germans," is a group shot, mostly of immigrant children. A cherubic baby waves at the photographer while one girl rubs her eyes, which are probably smarting from a previous flash. And third, "From Bohemia," is a young woman in a long black dress and dark, printed kerchief, sitting on a bench. She is asleep, her weary head resting on a large bundle tied with her shawl.⁸³ These are only a few of the many photographs Hine made at Ellis Island.

The work of other photographers appeared in Charities, including those issues devoted to the Pittsburgh Survey, but none was identified, and those known to be Hine's predominate the Survey issues. The Survey was presented in early 1909 in three parts: "The People" in the January 2 issue; "The Place and Its Social Forces" in the February 6 issue; and "The Work" in the March 6 issue. Later the Survey was published in six separate bound volumes.

Twenty-eight Hine photographs appeared in the first Survey issue of Charities. With "The Working Women of Pittsburgh" by Elizabeth

Beardsley Butler, summarizing her previously published work, Hine had eight photographs.⁸⁴ Another photo essay, "Immigrant Types in the Steel District," presented seven of his strong portraits of steelworkers and one group shot of six workers.⁸⁵ Twelve more photographs accompanied "Homestead--A Steel Town and Its People" by Margaret F. Byington. They are largely landscape shots, unusual for Hine.⁸⁶

Thirty-five Hine photographs appeared in the February 6, 1909, Survey issue. Eleven accompanied F. Elisabeth Crowell's "The Housing Situation in Pittsburgh"; most were photographs of tenements shot from the outside.⁸⁷ Six illustrated Florence Larrabee Lattimore's "Skunk Hollow--A Pocket of Civic Neglect in Pittsburgh"; they were photographs of this rural-looking suburb and its people.⁸⁸ Twelve appeared with Crowell's "Painter's Row--The United States Steel Corporation as a Pittsburgh Landlord"; these were mostly views of buildings and streets.⁸⁹ And, finally, there were six photographs with "The Mill Town Courts and Their Lodgers" by Byington. All six were credited to Hine, the only photographs in Charities' Survey issues to be credited officially to him.⁹⁰

Of particular interest are three photographs with the "Skunk Hollow" article. Two of them illustrate one of the pitfalls of photographic skill applied to social documentary photography; both are so carefully composed and taken in such a flattering light that they do not appear to be of a slum area at all, but a quaint, attractive country village, thus negating the message.⁹¹ The third is a photograph of a group of small black children in front of their temporary home in Skunk Hollow. One child looks especially familiar, for photographs Hine took of her in her rocking chair are quite well known. A photograph of her appears in Gutman's book but is mislabeled as having been made in Washington, D.C.⁹²

Hine's position as staff photographer did not make his photographs sacred. One published with the "Housing Situation" article was mercilessly mortised into a thin L shape.⁹³

Inconsistent photographic creditlines in the third and final Charities' issue of the Pittsburgh Survey make it impossible to be sure how many of the photographs are actually Hine's. Only two of the six portraits of workers illustrating "Wage Earners of Pittsburgh" by John R. Commons bear Hine's creditline in the magazine.⁹⁴ However, all the portraits are similar to those appearing in the photo essay on steel workers in the January issue. And only two of the many photographs illustrating Butler's "The Industrial Environment of Pittsburgh's Working Women" show Hine credit. Hine had illustrated her three previous Survey articles on working women, according to his cataloguers, and it stands to reason that most, if not all, of the uncredited photographs are his, as well.⁹⁵

Even while the Survey data was being analyzed and readied for print, Hine was already moving on to other investigations, using the techniques he had learned in earlier Charities' assignments. In November, 1908, he went to Charlotte, N.C., photographing in the cotton mills of the surrounding area for the National Child Labor Committee. The January 30, 1909, number of Charities carried an article, "Child Labor in the Carolinas," by A. J. McKelway, which described Hine's experiences there and those of other NCLC investigators.

The lead paragraph begins, "Lewis W. Hine, well known to readers of this magazine by his photographs of social conditions in New York city [sic] and elsewhere, was sent by the National Child Labor Committee to investigate conditions in North and South Carolina and record the results with his camera. . . ."⁹⁶ McKelway noted that Hine took 230

photographs at 17 cotton mills there, and that the only two mills where he was not allowed to photograph the children were owned by the man who was "treasurer of the National Child Labor Commission of the National Civic Federation, organized to secure correct information about child labor conditions."⁹⁷ Twenty-seven of the photographs accompany this article.

The photographs Hine took on that trip became some of his most famous ones. Most portray his usual technique of lining the children up against the background of their work environment and photographing them as they looked at him with smiling or grave expressions. He would go on to take hundreds more such photographs during the next 30 years, to be published in Paul Kellogg's magazine and many other media.

Charities, too, would go on to other investigations, first changing its name to The Survey to reflect the profound alterations the Pittsburgh Survey had made in its approach to social welfare journalism.

Summary and Conclusions

Social documentary photograph may be defined as informative, factual photography which selectively portrays common people coping with social conditions in such a way as not merely to elicit an emotional response but also to move the viewer to action.

The purpose of this study was, through an examination of the photographs of Charities, the official journal of the New York Charity Organization Society, to learn more about the characteristics of social documentary photography--as defined above--as that genre developed in the magazine from 1897-1909.

It was observed that, by the journal's earliest years, 1897-1902,

photography was already associated with social work in the minds of the public. Charities, however, used photographs infrequently, and those which were used tended to emphasize the results of social welfare practices, rather than the need for such activity during this early period. A notable exception was the tenement-house campaign, that provided the magazine with articles and a few photographs depicting social conditions the COS wanted corrected by legislation. Photographic layout was haphazard, and photographers were not given a creditline by the magazine.

In the period from 1902-1907 a new, young editor, Paul Kellogg, brought to Charities changes in appearance and direction. There was an increased use of photographs, with even an occasional image on the front page. More importantly, it was seen that there was an increased emphasis on investigative, activist journalism, which was reflected in photographs showing social conditions needing change. Cutlines were longer in order to explain more about the conditions portrayed in the photographs, and there was more experimentation with layout, with varying success. Creditlines were still rare. In 1903 the first photo essay appeared, and it served to call the attention of the readers to the significance and power of the photographic image. A reprint from the magazine of the Camera Club of New York, the essay displayed club members' photographs taken of street scenes on the Lower East Side. Lewis Hine's first photographs published by Charities appeared during this time period.

Finally, in 1907-1909, Charities was given new purpose and direction by the Pittsburgh Survey, a comprehensive study of social conditions in Pittsburgh. The Survey was published in three parts in early 1909. All the photographs which accompanied these articles were persuasive,

investigative photographs, many of which were made by Hine, now a staff photographer.

It was observed at the outset that two attitudes toward photographs would prevail throughout the 12 years under examination. First, the primary purpose of photographs was to illustrate the words of the text, not to stand alone. Only one photo essay, Hine's "As They Came to Ellis Island," was presented virtually without words, without the context of an accompanying article. The wedding of photograph to word would be inherent some 50 years later in Wilson Hick's definition of photojournalism,⁹⁸ although the photograph would have become a more equal partner by that time.

The second attitude observed was the fact that the environment of the individuals photographed was more important than the individuals themselves. This emphasis grew out of the purpose of Charities, to urge improvement of that environment, and it led to a neglect of esthetics that at times was effective and at times amusing. Hine was perhaps more interested than the other Charities' photographers in portraying people as the principal subject within his photographic frame, but even he was careful to include the background, full of information about the texture of their lives.

Photographers' failure to receive creditlines for their work remains a problem occasionally today. To be fair to Charities, the editors frequently may not have known the identity of the photographers whose photographs they used, since the writers of the articles apparently were asked to supply photographs when they could. For example, the following is an excerpt from a letter to Paul Kellogg from Charles F. F. Campbell of the Massachusetts Association for Promoting the Interest

of the Adult Blind, who had been asked to write an article and also, evidently, to provide photographs:

With regard to the illustrations, I fear I have no half tone cuts which would be available, as the blocks I have are on the work for the education of the blind. I can, however, let you have some photographs which would, I think, be of interest, if you wish to use them. I am writing to England to obtain additional photographs so that you may have a larger number to select from.⁹⁹

The photographers, then, might be the authors themselves, the authors' friends, the authors' employees, or just some people who had on hand relevant photographs. In addition, by-lines do not appear with all the articles in Charities; it may be that staff-written material--and later staff-produced photographs--were habitually unattributed. It is not known whether omission of his creditline mattered to Hine during this early period, but later correspondence with Kellogg shows frequent concern, sometimes to the point of anger. One letter shows that his feelings about his mission changed over the years, perhaps making the creditline less important to him. He wrote: "In the early days of my Child Labor activities I was an investigator with a camera attachment, but the emphasis became reversed until the camera stole the show. Maybe it's time to back up a bit."¹⁰⁰

Of particular interest in looking back over this study is the faith that Charities and its readers placed in the photographs as reality. They knew photographs could be manipulated; the pictorialists had already shown them this fact. Yet Florence Kelley, on the page adjacent to the "Child Labor in the Carolinas" article, said, "The camera is convincing. Where records fail and parents forswear themselves, the measuring rod and the camera carry conviction."¹⁰¹ And the author of "Child Labor in the Carolinas" said, "The pictures tell their own story."¹⁰²

There was trust that the photographer would not tamper with his subject. Speaking of large groups of people appearing in the Tenement-House Exhibition photographs, Charities said, ". . . but it is not to be supposed that the children who are after books, and the grown-ups with interested faces who fill the reading-rooms were gathered there by the Tenement-House Committee to have their pictures taken."¹⁰³

One of Charities' original purposes was to warn its readers against fraud; it even "provided 'cautionary lists' which detailed persons and agencies charitable in declared purpose and name but in reality fraudulent schemes to squeeze money from the unwary," says Chambers.¹⁰⁴ To have published faked photographs or photographs which presented anything but conditions as they actually were would have negated the very mission of the magazine.

The public grew to expect the honesty of the social documentary photograph; to tamper with the image would be to invite cries of indignation and disgust. Today that purity of image is a significant ethic of both social documentary photography and photojournalism.

Within the pages of Charities is a wealth of images, both visual and verbal, of Americans; this study has only skimmed the surface of what can be gleaned. Future examinations might reveal, for example, the image of the working woman, or attitudes toward blacks or immigrant stereotypes at the turn of the century.

Historian Richard Hofstadter wrote:

To an extraordinary degree the work of the Progressive movement rested upon its journalism. The fundamental critical achievement of American Progressivism was the business of exposure and journalism was the chief occupational source of its creative writers. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the Progressive mind was characteristically a journalistic mind, and that its characteristic contribution was that of the socially responsible reporter-reformer.¹⁰⁵

To study Charities is to study that Progressive mind as it is found in the works of the socially responsible editor-reformer, Paul Kellogg; the socially responsible reporter-photographer-reformer, Jacob Riis; and the socially responsible photographer, Lewis Hine.

#

Notes

This study is essentially a study of photographs. Therefore, the citations from Charities below refer most often to specific locations of photographs. Two exceptions are: 1) when a Charities article itself contributed to my text, and 2) when several photographs appeared in one article and I did not identify them individually. In both cases the article is cited.

¹See Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography, 4th ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1964), for a discussion of Hill and Thomson. Also see Alexander Alland Sr., Jacob A. Riis: Photographer & Citizen (Millerton, New York: Aperture, 1974), and Judith Mara Gutman, Lewis W. Hine and the American Social Conscience (New York: Walker and Co., 1967).

²For expediency, the journal will be called Charities throughout the study.

³Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order: 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), p. 43.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Edward T. Devine, When Social Work Was Young (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), p. 23.

⁶For most of the early history of Charities, unless otherwise cited, I am indebted to Clarke A. Chambers, Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971).

⁷I appreciate the assistance of Professor James P. Fohey of the University of Georgia. He observed a slight mark on many of the letters in the text of Charities. These marks, he pointed out, are caused by a breakdown on the sidewall of a line-casting machine's mat, indicating that the type was not set by hand.

⁸Chambers, p. 8.

⁹Devine, p. 79.

¹⁰Survey Associates Papers, Subscription Statement by Business Manager in memorandum dated July 27, 1906: "The merging of Charities, The Commons and Jewish Charity brought together, in order, net paid subscription lists of 4,000, 1,400 and 100, a total of 5,500. Since that time 2,000 new subscriptions have been secured, making a total of 7,500. Discontinuances have reduced this to 6,000 (in round numbers)."

¹¹Chambers, pp. 33-34.

¹²Ibid., p. 40.

¹³In "A Year Under a New Name," the second volume of a pamphlet, "A Statement by the Editors in Behalf of Charities Publication Committee," p. 41, Survey Associates Papers, the editors said, "The month following the change of name of the magazine, 1,000 new subscribers were added to our lists. . . ." By the end of that year total subscribers were 12,000, a 5,000 gain in one year.

¹⁴"To Change the Name of Charities and The Commons," Charities, 21 (March 27, 1909), p. 1251.

¹⁵Charities, 7 (November 9, 1901), p. 407.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Charities, 3 (June 10, 1899), p. 10.

¹⁸"Creche" is used here in the British sense of "daynursery".

¹⁹See, for example, "The Lewis Memorial Cottage, The Seaside Hospital of St. John's Guild at New Dorf, Staten Island," Charities, 7 (October 5, 1901), p. 280; "Franklin Square House," Charities, 9 (November, 1902), p. 424; or "Hospital in Rock Bay, British Columbia," Charities, 16 (April 7, 1906), p.5.

²⁰Charities, 3 (August 12, 1899), p. 2.

²¹Ibid., p. 3.

²²Charities, 6 (May 4, 1901). Photographs appear on pp. 387, 388, 391 and 392.

²³Samuel Macaulay Jackson, "The Industrial Building," Charities, 4 (September 22, 1900), pp. 3-6.

²⁴Ibid., p. 4.

²⁵Ibid., p. 5

²⁶For example, see Charities, 9 (December 20, 1902), p. 621.

²⁷For example, see Charities, 7 (December 7, 1901), p. 497.

²⁸Charities, 5 (September 22, 1900), pp. 10, 11.

²⁹Charities, 7 (December 7, 1901), p. 501.

³⁰Ibid., p. 500.

³¹"The Tenement-House Exhibit," Charities, 4 (February 10, 1900), pp. 1-2.

- ³²Untitled, Charities, 4 (February 17, 1900), pp. 1-3, 18-19.
- ³³Ibid., p. 1.
- ³⁴Charities, 6 (March 2, 1901), p. 202.
- ³⁵Fresh air agencies were those agencies which took tenement women and children to the seashore or country for day trips or longer in the summer.
- ³⁶"Summer Philanthropy," Charities, 7 (October 5, 1901), pp. 279-288.
- ³⁷Ibid., p. 283.
- ³⁸Devine says (p. 106), "The Charities Review number was distinguished from other weekly issues by having a cover. . . ." Lewis Hine's cataloguers refer to several of his photographs as having been on the cover of Charities. However, none of the issues I examined at the University of Georgia Library, the New York Public Library and the Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota were bound with covers. Therefore, no cover photographs will be discussed here except the type mentioned on page 17.
- ³⁹Charities, 9 (November 15, 1902), p. 469.
- ⁴⁰Charities, 10 (January 10, 1903), p. 45.
- ⁴¹Charities, 10 (April 11, 1903), p. 361.
- ⁴²William Byron Forbush, "Camping in an Abandoned Farmhouse," Charities, 10 (April 4, 1903), pp. 328-331.
- ⁴³"The Sunday Closing Law of New York," Charities, 12 (January 23, 1904), pp. 94-102.
- ⁴⁴Charities, 10 (March 7, 1903), p. 206.
- ⁴⁵"What of the Newsboy of the Second Cities?" Charities, 10 (April 11, 1903), pp. 368-371.
- ⁴⁶Charities, 10 (April 11, 1903), p. 361.
- ⁴⁷"What of the Newsboy of the Second Cities?" p. 370.
- ⁴⁸Florence Kelley, "A Boy-Destroying Trade," Charities, 11 (August 4, 1903), pp. 15-19. Photograph appears on p. 16.
- ⁴⁹"First Fruits of a Municipal Experiment," Charities, 10 (May 2, 1903), pp. 425-431.
- ⁵⁰Jacob A. Riis, How the Other Half Lives (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), p. 33. The photograph appears on p. 424 of Charities.

- ⁵¹"First Fruits of a Municipal Experiment," p. 428.
- ⁵²Jacob A. Riis, "The Housing Problem Facing Congress," Charities, 12 (February 6, 1904), p. 161.
- ⁵³Charles F. Weller, "Neglected Neighbors," Charities, 15 (March 13, 1906), pp. 761-794.
- ⁵⁴Gutman, p. 18.
- ⁵⁵See Walter Rosenblum, Naomi Rosenblum and Alan Trachtenberg, America and Lewis Hine (New York: Aperture, 1977), pp. 138-142.
- ⁵⁶Charities, 10 (March 7, 1903), p. 206.
- ⁵⁷"A Day with a Tenement-House Inspector," Charities, 9 (December 20, 1902), pp. 618-622.
- ⁵⁸Charities, 15 (October 7, 1905), p. 64.
- ⁵⁹Charities, 10 (April 11, 1903), p. 361.
- ⁶⁰*Ibid.*
- ⁶¹"Oppression to Freedom," Charities, 10 (April 4, 1903), pp. 337-343.
- ⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 337.
- ⁶³*Ibid.*, pp. 338, 340 and 341, respectively.
- ⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 339, and 342, respectively.
- ⁶⁵"First Fruits of a Municipal Experiment," pp. 426 and 428.
- ⁶⁶Charities, 12 (September 24, 1904), p. 956.
- ⁶⁷Charities, 17 (November 17, 1906), pp. 377-384.
- ⁶⁸Charities, 19 (October 5, 1907), p. 802.
- ⁶⁹Charities, 18 (August 3, 1907). The pages of photographs are not numbered. They are inserted between pages 470 and 471.
- ⁷⁰"A Photographer East of the Bowery," Charities, 10 (April 4, 1903), pp. 344-349.
- ⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 349.
- ⁷²*Ibid.*, pp. 345, 348.
- ⁷³See Rosenblum, Rosenblum and Trachtenberg.

- ⁷⁴Charities, 17 (February 2, 1907), p. 784.
- ⁷⁵Charities, 17 (March 9, 1907), p. 1044.
- ⁷⁶Ibid., p. 1045, both photographs.
- ⁷⁷Survey Associates Papers, Paul U. Kellogg to Arthur E. Morgan, July 10, 1933.
- ⁷⁸"The Pittsburgh Survey of the National Publications Committee of Charities and The Commons," Charities, 19 (March 7, 1908), p. 1665.
- ⁷⁹Chambers, p. 36; Gutman, p. 18.
- ⁸⁰F. Elizabeth Crowell, "What Bad Housing Means to Pittsburgh," Charities, 19 (March 7, 1908), pp. 1683-1698.
- ⁸¹Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, "Pittsburgh Women in the Metal Trades," Charities, 21 (October 3, 1908), pp. 34-47.
- ⁸²Butler, "Pittsburgh's Steam Laundry Workers," Charities, 20 (August 1, 1908), pp. 549-563. Photographs are on pp. 549, 553 and 557, respectively.
- ⁸³Lewis W. Hine, "As They Come to Ellis Island," (photo essay), Charities, 20 (September 5, 1908), pp. 645, 646 and 647, respectively.
- ⁸⁴Butler, "The Working Women of Pittsburgh," Charities, 21 (January 2, 1909), pp. 570-580.
- ⁸⁵Hine, "Immigrant Types in the Steel District" (photo essay), Charities, 21 (January 2, 1909), pp. 581-588.
- ⁸⁶Margaret F. Byington, "Homestead--A Steel Town and Its People," Charities, 21 (January 2, 1909), pp. 612-628.
- ⁸⁷Crowell, "The Housing Situation in Pittsburgh," Charities, 21 (February 6, 1909), pp. 870-881.
- ⁸⁸Florence Larrabee Lattimore, "Skunk Hollow--A Pocket of Civic Neglect in Pittsburgh," Charities, 21 (February 6, 1909), pp. 890-896.
- ⁸⁹Crowell, "Painter's Row--The United States Steel Corporation as a Pittsburgh Landlord," Charities, 21 (February 6, 1909), pp. 898-910.
- ⁹⁰Byington, "The Mill Town Courts and Their Lodgers," Charities, 21 (February 6, 1909), pp. 913-922.
- ⁹¹Lattimore, pp. 891 and 892.
- ⁹²Ibid., p. 895.
- ⁹³Crowell, "The Housing Situation," p. 880.

⁹⁴John R. Commons, "Wage Earners of Pittsburgh," Charities, 21 (March 6, 1909), pp. 1051-1064.

⁹⁵Butler, "The Industrial Environment of Pittsburgh's Working Women," Charities, 21 (March 6, 1909), pp. 1117-1142.

⁹⁶A. J. McKelway, "Child Labor in the Carolinas," Charities, 21 (January 30, 1909), p. 743.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸Wilson Hicks, Words and Pictures: An Introduction to Photo-journalism (New York: Harper Brothers, 1952).

⁹⁹Paul U. Kellogg Papers, Charles F. F. Campbell to Paul U. Kellogg, September 12, 1904.

¹⁰⁰Survey Associates Papers, Lewis Hine to Paul U. Kellogg, August 14, 1937.

¹⁰¹Florence Kelley, "Child Labor," Charities, 21 (January 30, 1909), p. 742.

¹⁰²McKelway, p. 744.

¹⁰³Charities, 4 (February 17, 1900), p. 20.

¹⁰⁴Chambers, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰⁵Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R. (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), p. 186.

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